

found an outlet in attacks or designs on members of the same extended family.

The Development of Waikayá

When a male is *késhé* he lies about caressing his hunting companions and spends his nights seeking young women. This is the period when he is childless, when he follows leaders, and when no specific judgments are made of him. But as he grows older, becomes *chéi chéi*, grown old, he becomes *waikeyá*. This gradual acquisition of the traditional stamp of approval is accompanied by two significant events. First, the growing man relinquishes his youthful caressing—men of forty or more rarely caress other men. Second, he acquires children of his own and need no longer satisfy himself through playing with the babies of others. After three children have been born to his wife the union is stabilized. By this time the man had taken active part in several raids on the Brazilians and might even have slaughtered some vendetta enemies. He was *waikeyá*; he loved himself. Now he began to boast to his children of his capacity for beer and of his prowess in killing Brazilians.

The process of actually turning away from others physically may go quite far in some individuals. Klendó said to me, "Since I did not want to have intercourse I told my belly to my children."² It is significant that the introduction to a discussion of boasting should contain a statement regarding a reduction in sex interests.

Sexual relations, although enjoyable, are felt as obstacles to the achievement of *waikeyá*, and any weakness or failure in social obligations may be ridiculed in terms of preoccupation with sex. In a story Vomblé kills Kuichó's relatives, but when Kuichó asks him where they are he replies, "They have forgotten all about you because they are too much taken up with copulating in the buttock-hole."³ They copulated so much that they forgot their father. Then Kuichó said, "I thought so! They have been copulating so much in the buttock-hole . . . that they do not think of me." In similar terms Kundágn ridicules an enemy who manages to escape him: "You showed your manliness by setting women on their heads!"⁴ The Kaingang are the only primitive people known to me who made a special point of boasting to their own children, and this, too, is significant when seen against the general background of self-interest. One's children are extensions of oneself, one lives in them, and boasting to them is almost like boasting to oneself.

² This refers to his drinking beer.

³ This is a Kaingang vulgarity. The remark is usually understood as a reference to the customary Kaingang manner of intercourse from behind.

⁴ Another vulgarity. He is describing the position assumed by dogs.